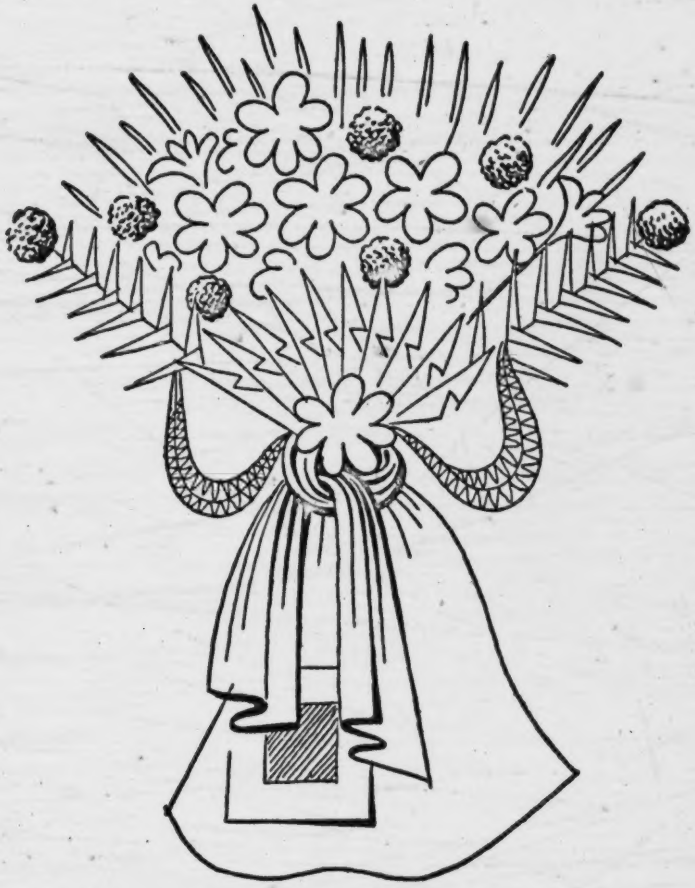
2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

We witnessed a harvest festival in Ubud: the dressed Rice Mothers were ceremoniously assembled in the little rice temple out in the fields, decorated for the occasion with pennants

243
527
778
531



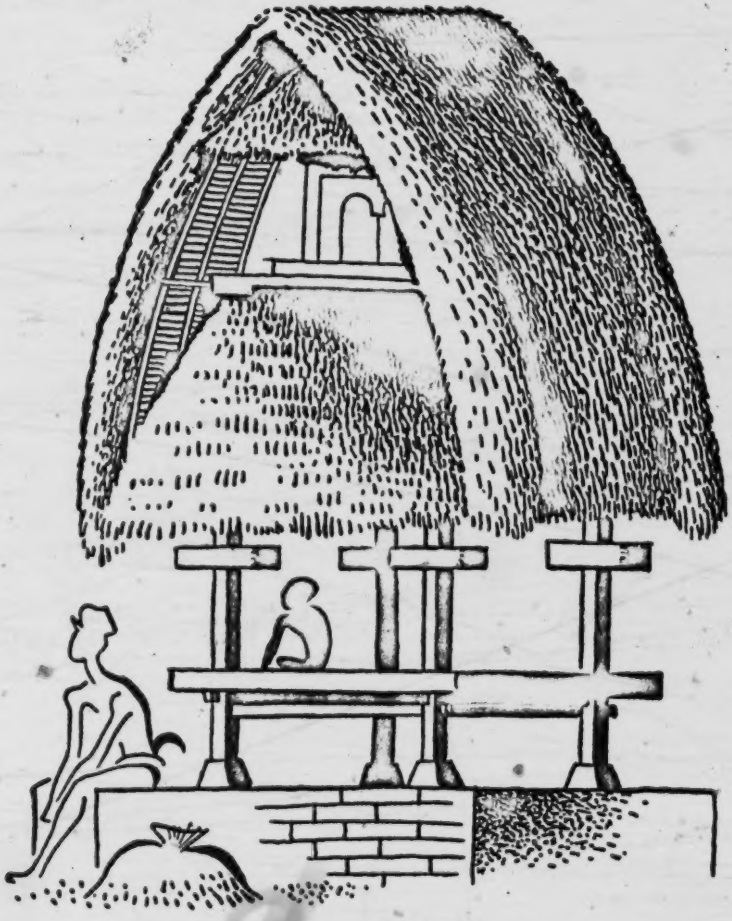
Rice Mother

(penyor) – tall bamboo poles hung with lacy ornaments of palm-leaf – and with beautiful *lamaks*, strips many feet long, made of the young yellow leaves of the coconut or sugar palm pinned together with bits of bamboo, covered with delicate patterns

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

243 527 778 531 representing moons, stylized girls, trees, and so forth, cut out of the mature leaves of palm, dark green lace against a background of lemon yellow.

[343]



A Granary (*Lumbung*)

243 527 782 The crowd started for the village in a long procession with music. The women carried the offerings and the Rice Mothers on their heads. The men wore hats freshly woven of coconut

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

532 Batur and Bratan; descending slippery ravines, into jungles, and
114 up steep hills, we found many old statues overgrown with vegetation, some of which seemed from early Buddhist days, while others looked as if Hinduism had never penetrated into those districts. Particularly interesting were the pyramids and strange carvings in wood in Sanda and Selulung; or the Polynesian-looking statues in Batukaang and Pengadjaran.

534 Perhaps the most remarkable of antiquities in Bali is the great
773 bronze drum kept in the *Pura Panataran Sasih* in Pedjeng, the former home of the demon-king Maya Danawa. Some Balinese say that it is one of the *subangs* (ear-plugs) of the moon, while others say it is a *Sasih*, the "moon" itself, that fell down to earth and was caught in a tree. It remained there giving a blinding light, preventing some thieves of the neighbourhood from performing their nocturnal work. One of them, bolder than the rest, decided to extinguish the source of light and, climbing on the tree, urinated on it. The "moon" exploded, killing the thief, and fell to the ground in the shape of the present drum, which explains why it is broken at the base. The people rescued it and placed it on a high latticed shrine in the temple. The drum is
534 of the style of the so-called Chinese drums of the Han dynasty
171 often found in Indo-China and even in Java, but it is the largest
● 531 and most beautiful I have ever seen. The Pedjeng drum differs somewhat from the usual Han drums; it is elongated, with three great handles, rather like the bronze drums found in Alor, the island near Timor, where they are still used as money, some being worth as much as three thousand guilders.[1] The drum is decorated on its sounding surface with a beautiful star in high relief surrounded by a border of sweeping spirals, and on its sides with borders between parallel lines rather like the popular design called "spears" (*tumbak*) by the Balinese: ▼▼▼▼▼▼▼. Furthermore, there are strangely primitive, or rather conventionalized, human faces in low relief that have no obvious relation to Chinese art and that are strongly Indonesian, with the

[1] Ernst Vatter: *Ata Kiwan.*

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

characteristic leaf-shaped ornament worn behind the ears, the lobes of which are exaggeratedly distended by the weight of unusual ear-rings. The general style, the motifs, and the work-

One of the Faces on the Pedjeng Drum

manship of the drum are all definitely related to the unique bronze axes from the island of Roti, also near Timor, which were unfortunately destroyed in the fire of the pavilion of the Netherlands in the Paris Colonial Exposition of 1931 where they were exhibited. The axes and the drums seem to belong, rather than to a definitely Chinese culture like the Han, to an ancient, mys-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

171 terious Indonesian bronze age.[2] The Pedjeng drum is regarded
534 with great reverence, and people often bring it offerings.
[776] Another motif which appears to be of native origin is the
531 figure called *tjilí*, a silhouette of a beautiful girl with a body shaped like a slim hour-glass (two triangles meeting at their apex), with rounded breasts, long thin arms, great ear-plugs, and wearing an enormous head-dress of flowers. *Tjilí* shapes are made in wood, of Chinese coins sewn together, woven into textiles, modelled in clay to surmount tiles for roofs, and made into clay banks for pennies. They are painted on rice cakes for temple ornaments in Selat, and made out of palm-leaf for certain agricultural ceremonies of the old mountain villages or as containers for the soul of the dead (*adegan*) for cremations. *Tjilís* form the central motif of *lamaks*, those beautiful but perishable ornamental strips of palm-leaf, about a foot and a half wide by some ten to twenty feet long, made for feasts by the women, pinned together with bits of bamboo strips of *busung*, the tender yellow blades of the sugar or coconut palm, taken from the tree before the leaf opens. This is decorated with a delicate geometric pattern, a mosaic of bits of the green leaf of the same palm, cut with a knife into elaborate ornaments which are pinned on the yellow background, forming borders like the ones on the Pedjeng drum, ornamental strips (*bebatikán*), groups of rosettes called "moons" (*bulán*), the *tjilí*, and a stylized tree (*kayon*). These magnificent ornaments, perhaps the purest examples of the Balinese native art, last only for one day, and after hanging for an afternoon on an altar or a rice granary, by evening they are completely wilted. Spies has collected every different type of [114] *lamak* design for a period of years and he has hundreds of them. [184] He claims that every community has a peculiar design not found elsewhere.

[776] The figure of a *tjilí* seems to have a strange hold on the im-

[174] [2] Heine-Geldern attributes the bronze drums and bronze weapons unearthed near Dông-Son in Northern Annam and Tonkin to a peculiar culture of the bronze age which he believes penetrated from northern into southern Asia not later than 300 B.C. and perhaps even as early as 600 B.C. He called this the Dông-Son culture.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

agination of the Balinese, perhaps because it is the shape of the "Rice Mother" (*ninî pantun*), a sheaf of rice dressed into the shape of a *tjilî*. This would indicate that the mysterious figure was connected with, or derived from, the deities of rice and fertility, either Dewi Sri or Melanting, also goddesses of beauty and seed respectively. Again, the shape of the great offerings (*kebógan*), a pyramid of fruit topped by a fan of flowers and palm-leaf, is also a *tjilî*, so stylized however that only the pyramidal skirt and the flower head-dress remain. This became evident when we saw in Kesiman, alongside the usual form of offerings, one six feet tall made into a realistic *tjilî*, her skirt of melons, ears of corn, oranges, *djambú*, and *salak*, her torso of frangipani flowers (*djepón*), and her face a smiling wooden mask with great ear-plugs and a fan of flowers as a head-dress. *Tjilís* are often so stylized that simply a palm-leaf fan with two loops (the ear-plugs or breasts) is called a *tjilî*. I became intensely intrigued by the persistence of this shape in so many of the ritual objects and was determined to find in it some religious significance; I asked all sorts of people about *tjilís*, from high priests to old women offering-makers, but they all insisted that they were purely ornamental forms appropriate for offerings because they were beautiful. The word *tjilî* means "small and nice," rather in the sense in which we use the term "cute." Whatever its origin, the *tjilî* is today nothing more than a beautiful abstract feminine motif.

OLD HINDU BALINESE ART

Already in the records of Chinese travellers of the fifth century it is mentioned that in the country of "Poli," perhaps Bali, there were Hindu princes, and that the travellers were received by priests who danced around them blowing conch-shells. Bali was already a colony of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram, the earliest recorded ruler of which was, according to Stutterheim, King Sandjaya or Sanjaya (A.D. 732) of the Sailendra dynasty, who ruled also over southern Sumatra. The

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

175 Sailendras where Mahayanic Buddhists, and their highly de-
53 veloped art was like that of the great Gupta period of India. Sivaism was introduced towards the middle of the ninth century

[531]

Tjilí of Woven Palm-Leaf

and, by degrees, the power of the Sailendras waned, but it was within this period, from the seventh to the ninth centuries, the golden age of Javanese art, that the finest monuments of Java

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

were built, the Buddhist *Borobudur* and the Sivaist *Lora Djongrang* in Prambanan. Soon this great civilization disappeared mysteriously and Bali came under the rule of independent kings

Tjilí of Palm-Leaf from the Top of an Offering

in Pedjeng and Bedulu. From their time we have remains of the classic style in the neighbourhood of the present villages of the same names, some in ruined temples, in caves, or among the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

175 53 [172] ricefields, in the strip of land between the rivers Pakrisan and Petanú, where so many of the antiquities of Bali are found. Towards the beginning of the eleventh century there was a renaissance in East Java, in Kediri, brought about by the Balinese-born king Erlangga. Under him Bali became again an in-

[531]

Tjilis from *Lamaks*

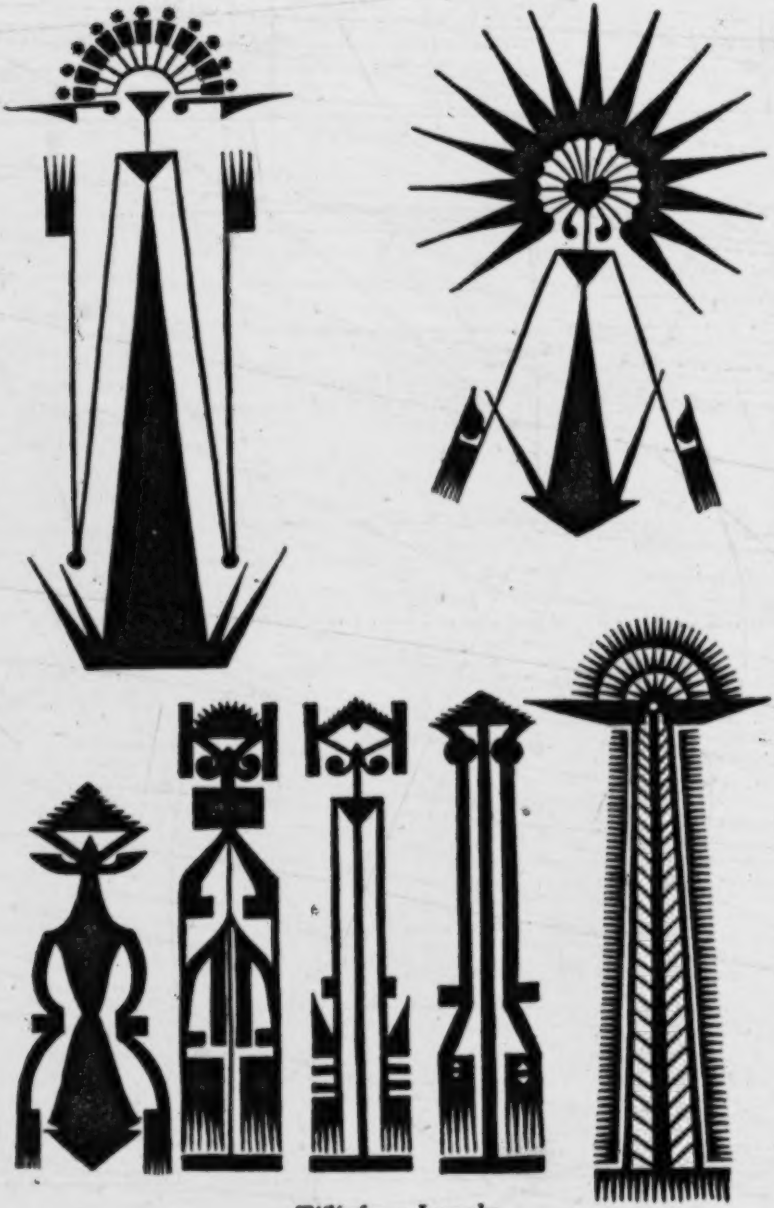
tegral part of Java and classicism received a new impetus. It was Erlangga who instituted Javanese as the official language of Bali. Tantric black magic seems to have played an important part in Erlangga's time, and while he was having trouble with his greatest political enemy, his own mother, who had sworn to destroy his kingdom by the black arts, Erlangga's brother ruled Bali in his name. This brother was buried (according to Stutterheim) in the spectacular "Kings' tombs" in *Gunung Kawi* near Tampaksiring.

172 211 Among the important relics of the ancient period are the following:

[Text continues on page 176]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

531



Tjilis from Lamaks

[p. 175]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

172 Batur. There are a number of ancient stone water-spouts outside
532 the cave, and on the inside is a statue of Ganesa in a central niche, with a *linga* on either side. The Goa Gadja dates also from the

[531]

Sapsap, *Tjili* Faces cut out of Palm-Leaf

eleventh century and perhaps receives the popular name of "Elephant Cave" because of the statue, inside, of the god Ganesa, shaped like an elephant. But Goris attributes the name to the fact
[103] that the river Petanu, which runs near the cave, was called in old times *Lwa Gadja*, the "elephant river." Elephants have never ex-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

172
532

excellent description of this interesting feast has been written by Walter Spies in "Das Grosse Fest auf Trunjan" (see Bibliography). The ancient Balinese also left a number of ancient bronzes cast by the *cire perdue* process, some in the form

[114]

[531]

Tjilis painted in Black and Fuchsia on a Rice Cake (*Djadjan*) from Selat

of plates with inscriptions, drums, and little statues of deities and kings, some classic in style like the beautiful ones found in Java, others of a more primitive, perhaps local style. All of these antiquities are not in museums, but are still the property of the people, kept in the temples and honoured because of their antiquity, brought out of their wrappings once a year on the occasion of the temple feast of the village.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

THE PERIOD OF MADJAPAHIT

175 After the death of Erlangga, Java went once more into decadence as a power, and various frustrated attempts to regain its former glory followed. During this period the hold on Bali relaxed and the island regained its political independence until the fourteenth century, when the new East Javanese empire of Madjapahit finally conquered its enemies and became supreme over the archipelago. Bali was made a vassal of Madjapahit, A.D. 1343, after vigorous campaigns against the famed Dalam Bedaulu, last of the Pedjeng dynasty and now classed as a mythical demon of great power.

After Bali was conquered, the generals of Madjapahit established a new dynasty of Javanese colonial rulers in Gelgel near Klungkung. A century later Madjapahit collapsed under the pressure of Islam, and Javanese rule finally gave way to a number of independent Balinese feudal lords, the descendants of the Javanese nobility, who were scattered all over the island. But in the period of years between the classic Sailendras and parvenu Madjapahit the art of Java suffered a great transformation, which was similarly felt in Bali. Under King Rayasanagara (Rajasanagara), better known by his native name *Hayam Wuruk*, 175 177 Madjapahit became the most powerful empire of Indonesia, but 532 being strong nationalists, the Javanese of Madjapahit had repudiated the esoteric classic spirit and had reverted to native ideas, with the result that their art became strongly Javanized. Having lost its austerity and primitivism in the process, their art became earthly and realistic, taking the character of a sen- ● [531] suous folk-art, intricate and essentially decorative, with a predominance of flaming motifs, volutes and spirals, leaves and flowers, animals and scenes from daily life; losing altogether its religious character.

177 532 Balinese art of the epoch of Madjapahit and its continuation went even further in the love of unrestrained decoration and developed a freer and more fantastic art than that of Java of

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

the same time. Although resembling the style of the ruins of Panataran in East Java, Balinese art is not the art of Java transplanted into Bali, but a parallel art, made even more Baroque by additional decorative elements from China. Tropical vegetation in stone invaded the architecture in the same way that

Tjili from a Clay Tile

the living creepers and parasites would engulf an abandoned monument in the hothouse atmosphere of Bali.

THE PLASTIC ARTS IN MODERN BALI

Sculpture and Architecture: The primary function of the average sculptor is to enhance the public buildings of his community with florid decoration and judging from the profusion of such carved temple and palace walls, gates, drum-towers, public baths, court houses, and so forth, seen even in the remotest districts, one comes to the conclusion that there must be an enormous

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

number of sculptors in Bali. Domestic architecture is simply of wood and thatch with secondary walls, undecorated for the most part, and is the concern of carpenters and thatch-workers. Formerly the vassals of the feudal princes built great palaces for them, many of which are still among the finest examples of Balinese architecture, but today the artistic activity of the people goes into the care of their places of worship and other communal buildings, still erected and repaired with great intensity.

In Bali there is no special class of architects, and the sculptors are in charge of designing, directing, and even working themselves in the construction of a temple, assisted by a number of stone- and brick-workers. A master carver should be able to plan beautiful gates, which are the most important examples of Balinese architecture. In Mas, a village of Brahmanas, we saw once an architectural drawing, rather resembling our architectural projects, for a temple gate to be erected in the village. The drawing was made by Ida Bagus Ktut, carver, actor, and musician, member of a whole family of artists; the position and shape of the stones and the carvings on what was to be in sandstone were drawn in great detail on European paper with black ink, with the parts to be made of brick painted red. I believe, however, that this drawing was exceptional, and usually the work is started without a drawn plan. For the making of the great towers for cremation, for example, the master builder simply has the design and the proportions already worked out, as the Balinese say, "in his belly."

The only stone to be found in the island is a soft sandstone, a conglomerate of volcanic ash called *paras*, quarried on the banks of rivers. The stone appears to be softer when freshly taken from the ground and becomes harder with time under favourable conditions. Dr. Stutterheim claims that the stone was protected in old times by a coating of cement, but I had no occasion to verify this and I never found evidence of such cement being used by the present-day Balinese. It is perhaps the softness of this, the only stone in Bali, that is responsible for the over-intricate art of the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

Balinese, making it possible for them to give full vent to their naïve delight in covering all available space with decoration.

The stone is cut and shaped with adzes, directly on the spot where it is quarried, and made into blocks of various sizes according to requirements. For the large statues of demons that guard the entrance of temples, the great block of *paras* is roughly shaped to resemble its ultimate form, and when it is considered that enough surplus stone has been removed, it is carried to its destination on stretchers of bamboo — not an easy task, since the quarries are generally at the bottom of deep ravines. I have seen as many as fifteen men struggling up a narrow and slippery path with a great block of stone. The schematic mass of the future devil is placed where it is to remain and is finished on the site.

The blocks of stone for construction are put together without mortar, but it is essential for the stability of the building that the joints should have a perfect fit. This is accomplished by rubbing the two stones together, wearing their surfaces down with great quantities of water. The same process is employed to join baked brick. In this manner the building rises slowly, the workmen protected from the sun by shades made of the woven leaves of the coconut palm and a considerable period of time often elapses before a new temple is finished. The alternate masses of red brick and sandstone are carved last, often leaving the roughly shaped masses of stone for years without decoration.

The stone-carvers follow definite rules when they begin to cover a temple or a palace gate with decoration. For instance, there should be a *karang tjewiri* over the gate, the face of a leering monster with a hanging tongue and long canines. On less important spots the central motif of a pattern is a *karang bintulu*, a curiously popular design consisting of a single bulging eye over a row of upper teeth, the canines of which are developed into fangs, surmounted by the representation of a mountain. To finish a corner there is a special motif, a *karang tjuring*, the upper part of a bird's beak, also provided with a single eye and pointed

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

346 teeth. For the same purpose there is a variation of this same
531 motif, a *karang astí*, the jawless head of an elephant. The word *karang* means a reef, a rock, but it also is the word for setting jewels or for a flower arrangement. It has been attempted to
[114] give these ornaments an esoteric religious meaning (according to Nieuwenkamp), the representation of the souls of inanimate objects – rocks, mountains, plants – of which they form a part; when a Balinese was pressed to explain why they did not have

Karang Bintulu chiselled on the Silver Sheath of a Kris

lower jaws, he replied that it was because they did not have to
[522] eat solid food! This is, in my opinion, a typical Balinese wisecrack and not an indication of any such symbolical meaning.

[171] These motifs are the starting-point for the intricate volutes, leaves, flowers, flaming motifs, and so forth, strongly reminiscent of those used in ancient Java, but also found in Siam, Cambodia, and even in the objects of the Dyaks of Borneo, a people uninfluenced by Hinduistic art. All-over patterns are called *karang*, while the carved borders in the mouldings are named *patra*, of which there is a *patra olanda* (from the Portuguese word for Holland?) and a *patra tjina*, a "Chinese border." Here and there small panels are carved with representations of episodes from their literature: animals from the *tantri* stories, the Balinese Æsop's fables; suggestive scenes from the *Ardjuna Wiwaha* in which the nymphs of heaven make passionate love to Ardjuna

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

while he is in deep meditation; or a battle from the *Ramayana* or *Mahabharata*, with comic scenes in which the retainers of the heroes, the clowns *Twálen* and *Délam*, wrestle and bite each other.

The Southern style of architecture (Badung, Gianyar, Tabanan, Bangli, Klungkung) is characterized by masses of red brick relieved by intricately carved ornaments in grey sandstone

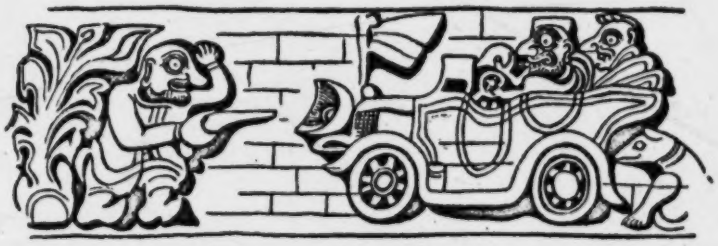
Karang Tjeiviri and *Karang Tjuring*

in a considerably more restrained style than that of the North of the island (Buleleng), where it breaks out into a gaudy riot of gingerbread decoration in a stone so soft that travellers have mistaken it for sun-dried mud. The gates of a North Balinese temple are tall and slender, with a flaming, ascendant tendency as if trying to liberate themselves from the smothering maze of sculptured leaves and flowers, out of which peer, here and there, grotesque faces and blazing demons, their shape almost lost in the flames that emanate from their bodies.

The North Balinese take their temples lightly and often use the wall spaces as a sort of comic strip, covering them with openly humorous subjects: a motor-car held up by a two-gun bandit, seen undoubtedly in some American Western in the movie house of Buleleng; a mechanic trying to repair the breakdown of a car full of long-bearded Arabs; two fat Hollanders

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

346 drinking beer; a soldier raping a girl; or a man on a bicycle with
●531 two great flowers for wheels. Fantastic pornographic subjects
[831] are always a source of hilarious comedy and in many temples in
[522] both North and South Bali such subjects are found as temple decorations. As if the mad tangle of stone vegetation were not enough, in North Bali they outline the decorations with white paint to make them even more conspicuous, and in villages like Babetin, Ringdikit, and Djagaraga the overpowering decoration



A Hold-up, a Temple Relief in Djagaraga

is painted in bright blue, red, and yellow, giving as a result the wildest and most unrestrained effects.

322 The art of wood-carving has suffered a curious transformation
532 since our first visit to Bali in 1930. Then the majority of the objects carved in wood were made for utilitarian purposes: from carved doors and beams for houses, musical instruments, masks for dramatic shows, handles for implements, to little statues of deities and other ritual accessories. These were of the conventional contemporary Balinese style: flowers and curlicues in high relief for flat surfaces (*ukiran*), and for sculpture in the round (*togog*), statues of divinities, demons, and other characters of mythology dressed in classical attire and profusely ornamented. Furthermore, all wood-carvings were meant to be covered with paint, lacquer, or goldleaf and only in exceptional cases was the wood left in its raw state. There were unusual pieces, but they
532 were freaks among the predominant styles.
322 Travellers had started to buy Balinese carvings, however, and
439

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

use found in every home implements of labour, simple but effective tools made of bamboo, wood, and iron, walls of split bamboo, cool mats for sleeping made of finely woven pandanus leaf, light but strong baskets and pocketbooks, and clay vessels to keep water cool. The common objects of daily requirements are beautiful in their simplicity, in the handling of elemental materials such as wood, bamboo, palm-leaf, and clay. In contrast are the lavish taste, labour, and money spent on their objects of luxury: their temples and musical instruments, their jewellery and textiles worn on ceremonial occasions, their weapons, and so forth. Their love of display often goes to extremes, as in the case of the costly towers, biers, and other accessories for the cremation of their dead, which are destroyed in a few minutes after hundreds of guilders and months of labour are spent to produce them.

I have mentioned the *gringsing* cloth, the scarfs from Tenganan, which are one of the rare examples in the world of the art of "double" *ikat* – that in which both the warp and the weft of the cloth are patterned by the elaborate process of dyeing only sections of the threads before weaving by binding them with fibres, the designs of both being made to fit afterwards when the scarf is woven. The *ikat* process is characteristic of Indonesians, although today the laborious double *ikats* are made only in Tenganan in Bali. Single *ikats* in cotton – those in which only the warp is previously patterned – are still made in Nusa Penida and in Mas, but in Klungkung they make "ikated" silks of amazingly elaborate patterns.

Klungkung is also famous for its brocades (*sungket*) in red silk with woven designs in gold and silver thread. The Balinese often decorate pieces of silk by the tie-and-dye process (*plangi*); the fabric is knotted tightly in certain places and dipped in the dyes so that when the knots are loosened, a regular pattern results, leaving uncoloured patches where the dye could not penetrate. Interesting also are the striped and chequered cloths in cotton and silk made all over the island, some of which are very

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

popular, and the open-work scarfs (*kamben tjerik*) worn by the women around the breasts for feasts. There is a peculiar cloth

Motif on a Sungket Cloth of Silk and Gold Brocade

in black and white checks (*kamben polén*) like the enlarged design of gingham, to which is attributed magic protective qualities. It is worn for certain magic dances like the *baris tekok*

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

djago and is the garment of magic characters such as Bhima, Twalén, and Merdah.

Although not a part of the weaving art, the gilt cloth (*kamben prada*) used for theatrical performances is also important. This is coloured silk boldly patterned with applications of pure goldleaf (*prada*) glued onto the fabric with Chinese gelatine (*antjur*) by a special process. It is curious that despite the fact that every Balinese wears Javanese *batik* for everyday dress, there is no evidence of their having adopted this popular process of decorating cloth. I have found strange *batiks* in a rough hand-woven cotton of a non-Javanese style, but I could never discover proof that they were made in Bali.

The Balinese also excel in the art of working metals, from the simple agricultural implements of iron, the parts of musical instruments, and the accessories of priests (bells, incense-burners, lamps, tripods, and so forth) cast in brass, to the extravagant gold and silver platters (*lelantjang*), water-bottles (*kendíh*), and vases (*sangkú* and *batil*), the knives and scissors for cutting betel-nut (*tjaket*) of wrought iron inlaid in silver, and the rich and elaborate rings, bracelets, ear-plugs, and flowers for the hair in hammered and chiselled gold set with rubies and star sapphires.

But the most important examples of Balinese craftsmanship are their krisses, the famous weapons of important Indonesian men, nowadays worn only as symbols and as ornaments. An inherited kris that has descended in a family for generations becomes not only their most important heirloom, but also the tangible part of the family deity and has come actually to be worshipped as an ancestral god, a *batara kawitan*, in whom the magic strength of the forefathers continues to live. Thus the head of a prominent Balinese family regards his kris as an important appendage and a symbol of himself. Today in the old villages it is compulsory for every man to wear his kris to attend a meeting; the kris must be worn at marriage and for all ceremonial or state occasions. Whoever cannot appear in person, sends his

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

kris to represent him, as for instance a judge who is sick and cannot attend a trial. In certain cases the marriage of a prince to a woman of the lower castes is performed by proxy in the form of the kris of her future husband. A new kris must be made "alive" by a priest, who blesses it in a special ceremony, reciting magic formulas over it and inscribing imaginary signs over the blade, while its owner dedicates an offering. Ancient krisses are kept alive with offerings of flowers and incense; a neglected and rusty kris is said to be dead.

The economic status of a man is determined by the richness of his kris, and a good part of his fortune is invested in the gold and jewels that decorate it. Only the blade is sacred, and the gold parts, the precious stones and ivory can be pawned in case of need and turned into cash. There are krisses worth thousands of guilders, covered with beaten gold, with handles shaped like gods or demons and set with enormous rubies and rose diamonds. Such are the famous krisses of the kings of South Bali taken by the Dutch as war booty at the time of the great mass-suicide of Den Pasar in 1906, now among the star pieces of the Batavia Museum. These fancy jewelled krisses were made to be worn on state occasions, while simpler ones were used for actual fighting, with more practical wooden handles shaped to ensure a good grip.

Gold hilts with precious stones are of course the most stylish, but there are also some made of horn, ebony, and other precious woods, with a heavy base (*bebataran*) of gold set with rubies and a small ring, of gold and rubies also, between the hilt and the blade. There is a great variety of kris handles, but a particularly interesting model is that called *kotjet-kotjetan*, the representation in ebony of the chrysalis of a large beetle with long antennæ.

The sheath not only protects the kris from outside influences, both physical and magic, but also insulates the vibrations emanating from the kris itself, which may act dangerously on human beings. The sheaths of the super-ornate krisses are of wood

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

covered with gold and silver, topped by a large crosspiece of ivory or ebony. The Balinese also made krisses of great simplicity, with the sheath and handle of a beautifully mottled precious wood called *pelet* which they obtained from Java. Old men claim that a fine piece of *pelet* for the crosspiece of the sheath or for the handle brought as much as fifty guilders in former times.

The shape of krisses is native Indonesian, free of all Hindu influence. It is found all over the archipelago from the Malay Peninsula to the Philippines and is invariably known by the name of *kris*. The Balinese form differs from that of the other islands only in details, and especially from the Javanese kris mainly in that it is considerably larger and more elaborate, although old Javanese blades are found in Bali, provided, however, with the richer Balinese hilts and sheaths.

The blade is the most important part of the kris; it can be straight and simple at times, but most often is fierce-looking, shaped like a flame, perhaps a form derived from a mythical serpent, a *naga*, since often there are krisses, not only in Bali and Java, but also in other parts of Indonesia, in which the body of the *naga* forms the blade, widening as it nears the top to make room for the curved neck and head of the *naga*. The upper part of the blade is full of barbs, dents, and curlicues wrought into the iron in an endless variety of styles, each with a special name, mysterious shapes that must once have had a now lost significance. There are also krisses with representations in high relief of elephants, bulls, winged lions (*singha*), and geese (*angsa*), which could possibly, at one time, have been related to the family totem. The extraordinary watered patterns (pamor) of silvery metal against a background of blue-black iron which have made krisses famous is the result of beating over and over alternating layers of meteoric nickel and iron layers until a fine moiré-like *pamor* is obtained, brought out afterwards by blackening the iron layers with a mixture of antimony and lemon juice. The kris is preserved from rust by a coating of coconut oil.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

532
534

531

(Photos by Walter Spies)

ABOVE: Two Alarm Drums from Tambakan

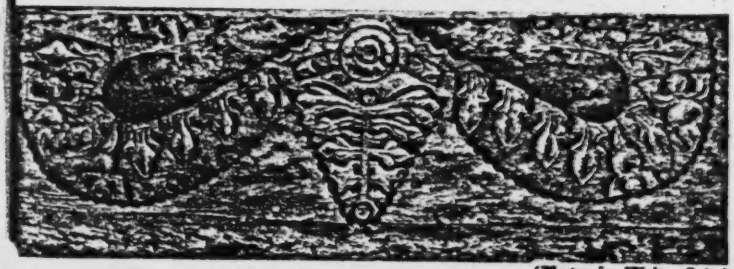
BELOW: A Wood Relief from Selulung, strongly reminiscent of the carvings of Borneo and Nias

[p. 202 (A)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

531
[782]

[322]



(*Photos by Walter Spies*)

ABOVE: A *Tjilí* of Fried Rice Flour that tops an offering from Duda

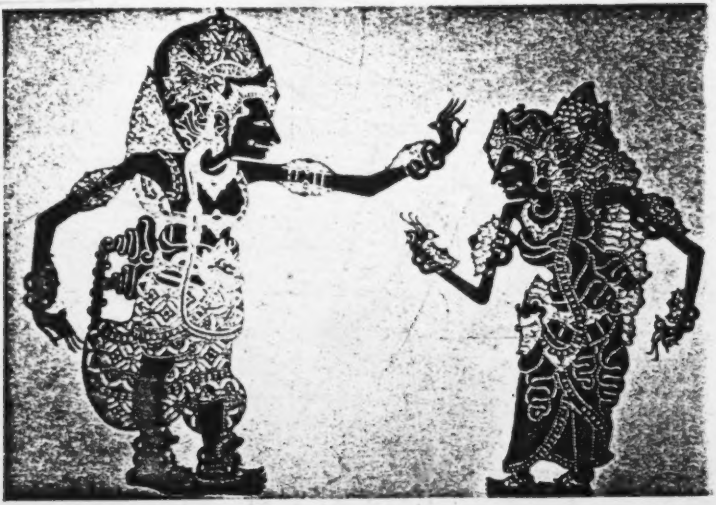
BELOW: A Wood Carving apparently representing a water-buffalo's head, from the balé agung of Satra

[p.202 (B)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

531
286

532
536



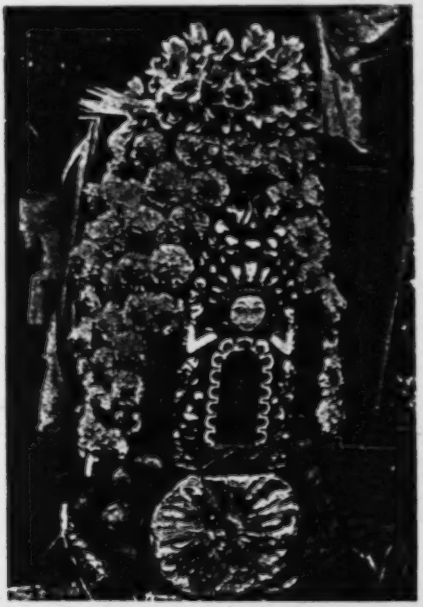
ABOVE: Detail of a Fine Silk and Gold Brocade from Klungkung. The wayang figures are woven into the fabric by the ikat process — the silk threads are dyed with the pattern before the cloth is woven

BELOW: Two Wayang Kulit, puppets of buffalo parchment, cut out with dyes and painted

[P. 202 (M)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

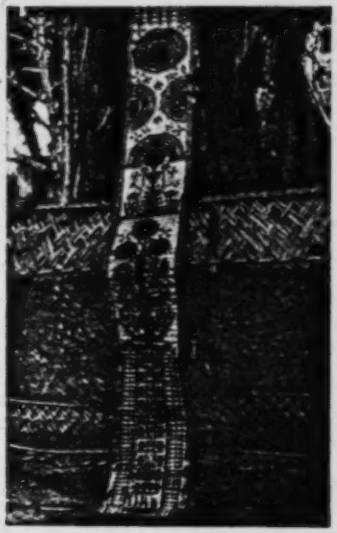
732
531



Temple offerings: bananas, custard-apples, oranges, palm-leaves, and flowers mingle to compose a *bogan* to the gods. The deities are served with the essence of this food, and ordinary people take what is left

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

531
782
285
346

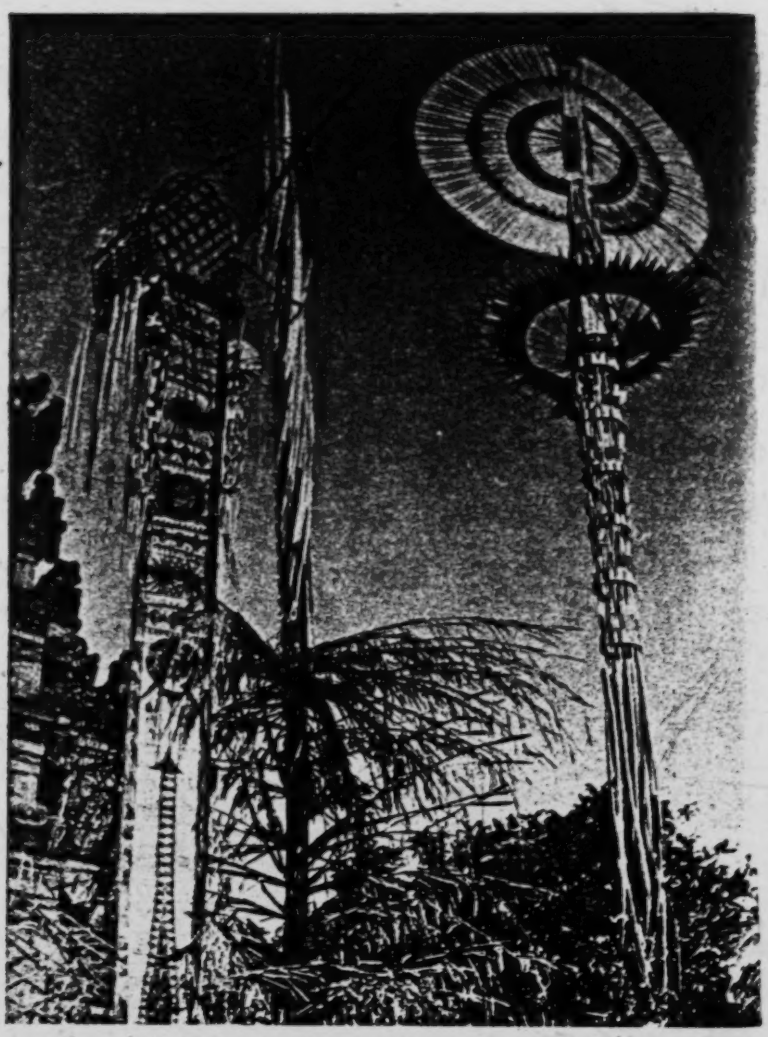


[291]

A *lamak*, a strip of palm-leaves designed for temple decoration; a detail of the same. BELOW, a shrine decorated for a temple feast

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

346
285
531



An exceptionally fine *lamak* and a tall *penyor*, a tall bamboo pole hung with lacy ornaments of palm-leaf decorating the entrance to a temple

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

fully preserved and reverently handed down by the people for perhaps five hundred to a thousand years.

The palm-leaf instruction books are referred to chiefly while a young priest is studying for office. As a rule by the time he is ready to officiate the order of the ritual and the prayers have become so familiar to him that he needs no book of instructions. Similarly, the array of offerings is taken care of by the women, special offering experts, who seem to be able to carry in their heads the thousands upon thousands of minutiae without which the offerings would not be complete, and in their finger tips, the necessary twist of the knife to cut out this or that intricate design in the folded leaves of young palm which will form the decorative fringes, panels, streamers, and top-pieces.

As the day of the festival approaches, more and more time is required of the villagers. At the last moment, a few thousands of small cakes are to be baked. Elaborate compositions of flowers and fruits and cakes have to be built up on a banana-stalk base, each unit impaled on a bamboo skewer to hold it in its place in the formal design of the offering. The meat offerings are the last to be got ready, lest they spoil in the heat, and these are the especial care of the men. A pig is killed, sometimes a calf, and ducks and chickens by the dozen. Intestines are pulled out and washed and refilled to make sausages. Fowls are roasted over spits. A great chopping and hashing goes on feverishly for many hours, as the men mix up concoctions of vegetable, meat, and blood to form around the little skewers for roasting and to serve up in mounds to accompany the rice. A special attention is to cut up the fat of the pig into flowers, impale these and fix them in a central support, to form a bouquet of pig-fat, one of the most imposing of the ornamental offerings.[4] But in the course of all these preparations, though the tongue be hanging out for a taste of the unwonted delicacies, no one forgets that this is a feast for the gods, and that the villagers will only get their share after the gods have been served. They will receive, as it were, the leavings from the gods' table, which they call *loengsoeran*, literally, "what is asked back."

For the occasion of the festival the local players of the *gamelan* orchestra, the actors and dancers of the village often prepare a new performance. Many hours of rehearsal may go into working up a new composition, based on the old melodies and rhythms, but recreated for the festival performance. If the village boasts trained dancers, these also go through a rigorous training period before making their "opening" at the temple festival. In many cases, especially if the village has funds, neighboring troupes of dancers and actors are invited to give a performance for a small fee and a part of the feast, or again a play may be arranged with the local talent augmented by one or two famous players, a clown or a player of a princely role, who comes from a distant village and adds to

[4] See Bateson and Mead, 1942, p. 115, Plate 30, Nos. 3, 4.

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

"begged" of anyone who has them growing in his garden. Many offerings contain a "filling" of fruits, cakes, etc., called by the term *raka*, which denotes that they are not indispensable, but may be added at will, according to what is on hand, to fill out the offering. In the *banten pané* referred to above, however, all the fruits and vegetables were requisites (*perloe*).

It can be imagined what a scurrying it takes at the last moment to make sure that no item is missing from any one of the thousands of offerings.

The men had by this time got up the *Panggoengan*, a high temporary shrine set up outside and immediately opposite the temple gate, destined for the "followers of the God of the Goenoeng Agoeng." This shrine, before the *odalan* began, would be flanked by tall *penjors*, decorated bamboos rising to the sky, and bent over at the tip by the weight of a lovely palm-leaf confection — said to attract the attention of the gods' hungry followers to the meat offerings especially set there for them, so that they will not invade the temple and despoil the offerings intended for the gods. From this shrine also will hang the intricate palm-leaf panels (*lamak*) cut out by the girls with the cleverest fingers. Those who undertake to provide for the temple the *penjors* and the *lamaks* are let off from part of the usual routine work.

Third day

On the third day of the preparations — that is, the day immediately preceding the *odalan*, there was much rice to be cooked in the kitchen. When ready, it had to be formed in various shapes, rounded cones, cylinders, rolls and packets. Some of the *bandjar* members had not yet brought their allotted portions. Rice was still coming in, a woman was busy measuring it. The *petadjoeh* checked off on his *pipil* the names of those who would be fined for coming late. On this day all the workers, male and female, were required to be present. The temple was crowded with more than two hundred members. There were still many offerings to be completed, and the time had come for the decorations to go up.

Around under the eaves of all the little shrines and buildings hung fringes of brightly colored cloth, sewn in a complex patch-work design. Gay curtains of calico were arranged about the "beds" or raised platforms of the *Pengaroeman* and *Pepelik*, where the gods would later be placed, and the offerings arrayed. (In the old days these valances and curtains were the lovely Balinese paintings, but most of these have been sold and are now replaced by calico.) From the corners of every shrine dangled festoons of palm-leaf confections, *gantoeng-gantoengan*, their crisp fringes stirring in the breeze. From the door or opening of every shrine hung *tjenigaan* of patterned palm-leaf, smaller editions of the

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

great *lamaks* hung without. It is also customary to hang green leaves (*don gegirang*) from the doors. The ceremonial parasols decorated with gold-leaf were stuck into the ground before the *Pepelik* and the *Padmasana*, shrine to the Sun. Beside them stood the tall spears, their shafts ringed with bands of silver. All the available raised platforms were crowded with the finished or nearly finished offerings, and within the temple court it looked indeed as if the party were about to begin.

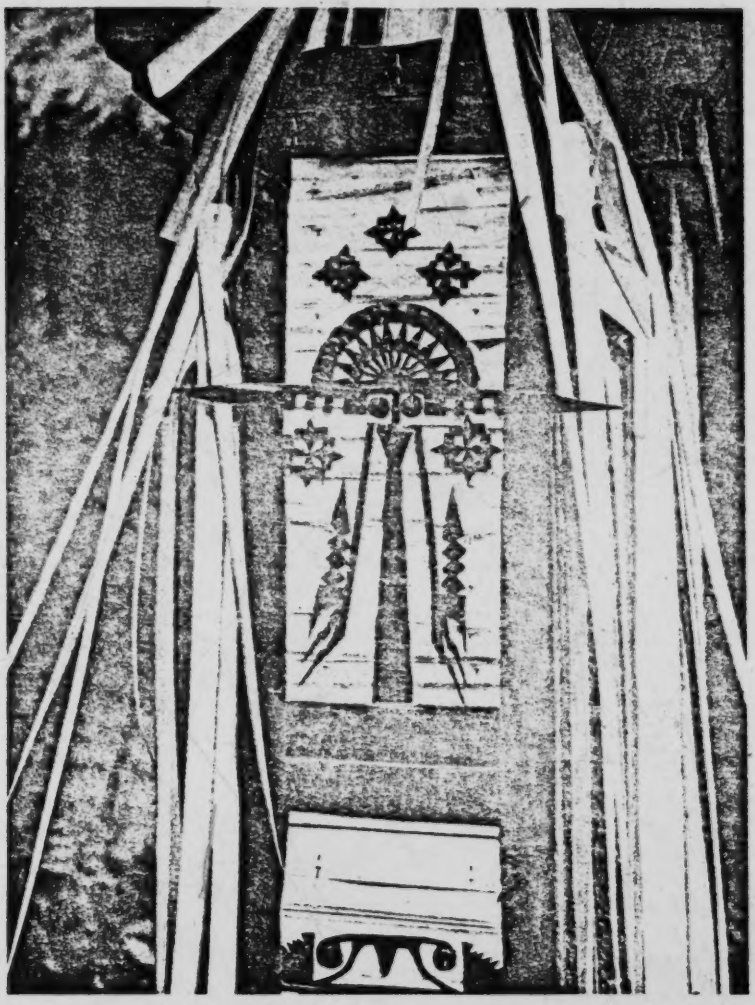
But there was still much work to do. The men were busy cutting the hundreds of bamboo skewers needed for grilling parts of the pig to be killed next morning. The women's flying fingers were finishing off the last dozens of leaf-containers. A group of five unmarried girls had gathered around to make the fragile *tjanang rébong*, left till the last. They took up flowers and neatly impaled each on a bamboo stick. Then, working from a base of a clay pedestal (*sesendèn*) on which stood a section of the pithy banana-stalk, they inserted the ends of the flower-sticks into this center, in such a way as to build up a solid cone of varicolored flowers. The base was hung with a fringe of young palm-leaf, and the whole topped with a fan-shaped ornament, also of young palm-leaf, called a *linggih-linggihan*. This most important creation, not so much an offering as a part of the regalia of the gods, will accompany them everywhere when they have "come down," and appear and reappear in many rituals. With it goes the *rantasan*, a set of clothes or "wardrobe" of the gods, and the "toilet-tray," the *pebersihan* (or *pesoetjian*), a wooden tray containing a mirror, two sorts of combs, little bowls of cosmetics, a cleansing brush of palm-weavings (*peboeve*), a container for water, and the customary *tjanangs*. As the meaning of this toilet-tray was sufficiently clear, we asked the priest what was the significance of the *tjanang rébong*[2] which goes with it. His answer was "*Artin mepajas*," the meaning of it is dressing up.

On this last night of the preparations as on the previous nights, a new group of men took their turn (*ririgan*) to guard the temple. But on the following night, that of the *odalan*, the entire assembly of the members should be present.

[2] See Belo 1949, Plate III, fig. B.

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

778
531



Tjili pattern in Old Indonesian design on a *lamak* panel of cut palm, decorating a shrine

[opp. p. 32]

182:Gardner G-3 (no date) 1936
AN1 Malaya
Malays AN5
Bali OF7
Javanese OE5

B
411
●531
M
*411

37. Balinese *kĕris*, ornate gem studded hilt.
1a. Sheath of No. 1. 2. *K. bahari.*
2a. Sheath of No. 2.

J
411
M
*411

36. Javanese *kĕris* and sheath; note large *sampir*.

J
291 [541 cont.]
for it as there are ways of tying it. The adat is involved here, as well as standing and fashion. This is likewise the case for the sarong, the "cloth tube" that is worn by the women as a skirt.

B
[531]

Balinese plangi (finished)
Photo. Jasper and Mas Pirngadie

J
[531] The pattern is between narrow borders at the top and bottom and is broken by the so-called kepala, which itself is set apart between wide decorative borders. The kepala consists of a double row of horizontal triangular figures with their bases toward each other. They are borrowed from textile patterns.

The woman wears the kepala on the left or right, in the front or back, according to her taste.

The leg covering for men is the kain pandjang [542] (Malayan), called djarit ombå in Javanese and sindjang-wijar in High Javanese. It is worn long or rolled up above the knees. It is not proper for

Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Atjehnese OD4
Borneo OC1

I 322 [411] Bl J 411 531 A 411 531

[555 cont.]
that such a great measure of artistic feeling is revealed here. Balinese and Javanese krises in particular are worthy of consideration. All kinds of figures of people, gods, animals, and flowers are represented on the [556] hilts. The shields, too, are not only cleverly worked, but also painted (1). The sheaths of the

1. J.A.Loebèr, Jr., op. cit., p. 10. See also the article by Mr. J.G.Huyser on the making of krises in Nederlands Indië, Oud en Nieuw, Vols. I and II.

Atjehnese rèntjong and swords must not be forgotten. The difference [illustration appears here] is that the rèntjong sheath has exactly the same form as the weapon, while the curved form of the weapon is not recognizable in the Javanese kris sheath, and that the rèntjong sheath is of one piece, while the kris sheath, especially the one covered with metal, [illustration appears here] consists of two halves, one laid upon the other. In addition, the Atjehnese weapon sheath commonly has very fine ornamentation, so that it is not only very evenly incised, but is equally well made throughout.

J 411 531

In reporting on weapon sheaths and hilts, the choppers of Tjikeroeh in the Preanger, a dèsa not far from the station Rantja-Ekèk on the [557] Western Railroad, are also to be noted. The sheath consists of two halves, one laid upon the other, which are encircled by copper rings. The hilt is very commonly the head of a bird.

Br 531 411

The sheaths of the Dajak mandau are often decorated with splendid ornamentation in bas-relief.

In addition to the weapon sheaths and hilts, the peoples of the Indies have a number of utilitarian articles that are decorated with exquisite carving. [Illustrations appear here.] There are the lecterns for the Koran, made from a single piece of wood and fashioned ingeniously so that it stands in an X-form, providing space for the book to be opened and read;

I 352 531

[Text continues on p. 626]

1:Alkema & Bezemer--628 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Madura OB6 Sumatra OD1 Timor OF20
Bahau OC5 Borneo OC1
Batak OD5 Nias OD11
Atjehnese OD4 Bali OF7

T 415 531 Br 531 411 321 N [532 769] M BQ S 321 531 411 Bh Bt 301 321 Bt 415 321 BQ 321 411 I 321 Br Bt A 415 I 321 531 415

[559 cont.]

tubes and are also decorated at certain intervals with handsome stylized animal forms.

Carved image from Nias
Zendingsmuseum Barmen

Central Borneo has the deer-horn hilts of the mandau, which [560] [illustration appears here] are not inferior to the Javanese kris hilts in wood or bone. These deer-horn hilts are carved in relief. According to some they are made only by persons who have a particular gift for the work and they work only when they feel inspired.

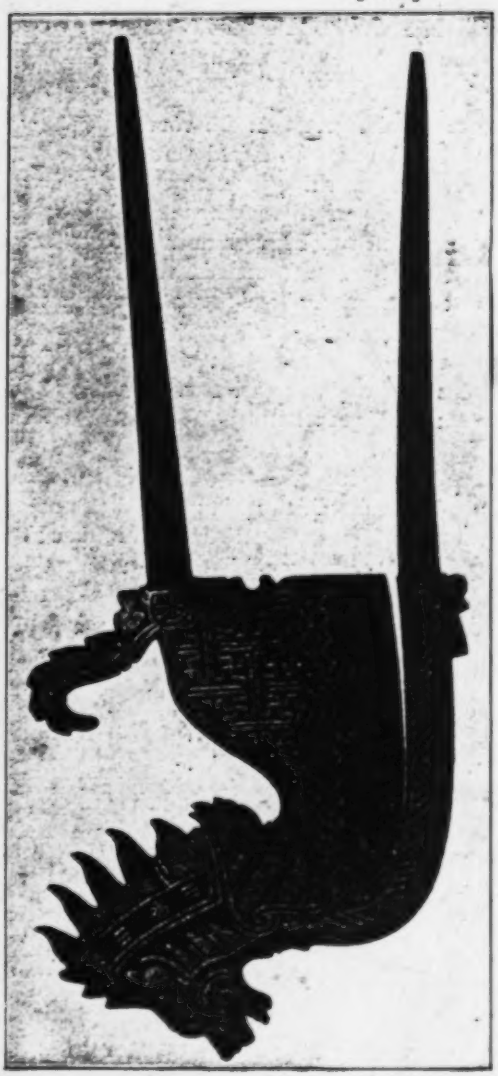
On Sumatra, Java, Madura, Bali, and southern Celebes, ivory is also used for the hilts of weapons and other decorations. This material is used especially for ceremonial weapons, but armbands (Batak, Kajan-Dajak [Kayan Dyak]) and tobacco containers (Toba-Batak) are also made of it. The Balinese take first place in carving ivory hilts.

Although the number of articles made of bone is not very large, the use of horn is more common. [561] It is used both for decoration and to make smaller articles.

Examples of the former are the powder horns such as are found in Atjeh (buffalo horn), among some of the Batak (antelope horn), and among the Boegan-Dajak (rhinoceros bird). [Illustration appears here.] Bullet boxes, too, in various forms and of various origins, are often decorated around the top like the powder horns.

[Text continues on p. 630]

1:Alkema & Bezemer--651 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia
Bali OF7



Balinese Nutcrackers for Areca, Incrusted with Silver
"Boeatan," The Hague

413
276
531